

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 14978 182120Z

62

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ISO-00

ACDA-05 SAJ-01 BIB-01 CU-02 /078 W

----- 040645

P R 181233Z OCT 75

FM AEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5743

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

CINCEUR

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 14978

E.O. 1165 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET - FRENCH DECLARATION: AN INITIAL ANALYSIS

1. SUMMARY. JUDGING FROM THE LANGUAGE OF THE JOINT FRENCH-  
SOVIET DECLARATION, THE GISCARD VISIT TO MOSCOW HAS NOT RESULTED  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 14978 182120Z

IN ANY SURPRRISES - WHICH TENDS TO CONFIRM WHAT SAUVAGNARGUES

TOLD AMBASSADOR STOESSEL AT THE KREMLIN RECPTION OCTOBER 17 (SEPTEL). IT DOES APPEAR THAT THE FRENCH WERE ABLE TO PUSH THE SOVIETS INTO SOME SLIGHT MOVEMENT ON BASKET III IMPLEMENTATION, THOUGH THE PROOF OF EVEN THIS AGREEMENT STILL LIES IN FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION. THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY EXERTED COUNTERPRESSURE ON DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS, BUT THE FRENCH GAVE LITTLE GROUND, ALTHOUGH THEY MAY HAVE AGREED TO SOMEWHAT MORE FORTHCOMING LANGUAGE ON NONPROLIFERATION. GISCARD IN HIS LUNCHEON SPEECH OCTOBER 17 AGAIN RETURNED TO HUMANITAIRIAN QUESTIONS, THIS TIME WITHOUT A REBUTTAL ON IDEOLOGICAL GROUNDS FROM THE SOVIET SPEAKER (PODGORNY); THOUGH PODGORNY IN REPLY NEEDLED THE FRENCH (AND NATO) ON MBFR BY CALLING FOR "NEW INITIATIVES" TO REDUCE THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE TEXT OF THE JOINT FRENCH-SOVIET "DECLARATION" FROM THE GISCARD VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION OCTOBER 14-18 IS CARRIED IN FULL IN PRAVDA OCTOBER 18. THE COMMUNIQUE (WHICH IS NOT A SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT) IN THAT SAME ISSUE NOTES THAT THREE OTHER AGREEMENTS WERE SIGNED OCTOBER 17: "ON SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL AND INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION IN THE AREA OF CIVIL AVIATION AND AVIATION INDUSTRY"; "ON COOPERATION IN THE AREA OF TOURISM"; AND "ON COOPERATION IN THE AREA OF ENERGY."

3. WE NOTE THE FOLLOWING POINTS OF INTEREST IN THE JOINT DECLARATION.

A. CSCE - BOTH IN THE PREAMBLE AND IN ARTICLE I THE FRENCH WERE ABLE TO GAIN SOVIET AGREEMENT TO REPEATED REFERENCES TO "FULL SIGNIFICANCE", "ALL OF THE PRINCIPLES", IMPLEMENTATION IN "ALL AREAS", OF "ALL OF THE PROVISIONS" OF THE CSCE FINAL ACT IN AN APPARENT SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO REBUT MOSCOW'S USUAL EMPHASIS OF THE BASKET I PRINCIPLES. ALSO, OBLIGATORY BOWS TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE QA ARE INCLUDED IN ARTICLE I, WHICH DEALS ONLY WITH CSCE. THE FRENCH THUS AGAIN GAINED AT LEAST IMPLICIT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT FROM THE SOVIETS THAT THE RESULTS OF CSCE SHOULD ALSO APPLY TO BERLIN. IN ARTICLE III THE TWO SIDES AGREED TO "PROVIDE FOR A SINGIFICANT INCREASE IN THE SCOPE AND QUALITY OF EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION ...IN THE AREA OF ART, EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SCIENCE", AND EXPRESS READINESS TO EXAIME THE QUESTION OF A "CULTURE AGREEMENT" TO THESE ENDS. THE SIDES

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 14978 182120Z

WILL FURTHER "SEARCH FOR POSSIBLE WAYS TO CREATE, IN THE USSR AND FRANCE RESPECTIVELY, CONDITIONS FOR WORK AND FOR RESIDENCE WHICH TO THE GREATEST DEGREE PROMOTE EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION BY SOVIET AND FRENCH SPECIALISTS IN ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL COOPERATON".

B. DISARMAMENT. IN THE PREAMBLE REFERENCE IS MADE TO THE "MATERIALIZATION OF DETENTE", MOSCOW'S NEW SHORTHAND FOR DISARMA-

MENT, BUT THAT PHRASE IS FOLLOWED IMMEDIATELY BY ANOTHER EXPRESSING WHAT WE ASSUME IS THE FRENCH VIEW THAT THE "MATERIALIZATION" SHOULD BE ACHIEVED "ESPECIALLY BY MEANS OF" JOINT EFFORTS TO SOLVE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS OF AT LEAST IMPLICITY A POLITICAL NATURE. SUCH DANCING BACK AND FORTH ON DISARMAMENT IS EVIDENT ELSEWHERE IN THE DECLARATION. THE SOVIETS GAINED AGREEMENT TO INCLUDE A STATEMENT "EMPHASIZING THE INTEREST" OF THE TWO IN "EFFORTS AIMED AT REDUCING MILITARY CONFRONTATION" - AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO MBFR - BUT THIS IS FOLLOWED BY THE EXPRESS CONDITION THAT SUCH MEASURES SHOULD NOT AFFECT EITHER THE SECURITY OR THE "INDEPENDENCE" OF THE STATES - THUS ASSUAGING FRENCH CONCERNS ON THE LATTER ASPECT. THE DECLARATION REPORTS THAT "AN EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS" TOOK PLACE ON THE SOVIET EXOTIC WEAPONS PROPOSAL, AND THAT THE FRENCH WILL "CONTINUE WITH INTEREST" THEIR EXAMINATION OF THE PROPOSAL. THE SOVIETS MAY NOT EVEN HAVE TRIED TO CONVINCE THE FRENCH TO AGREE TO LANGUAGE ON THE SOVIET COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN PROPOSAL, BUT IN ANY CASE WE SEE NO REFERENCE TO IT.

C. OTHER ISSUES. ON THE MIDDLE EAST THERE IS NO NEW DEPARTURE IN THE DECLARATION'S LANGUAGE. ON CYPRUS, THE USUAL SOVIET DEMAND FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS "FROM THE ISLAND" IS TONED DOWN TO REMOVAL "FROM THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS", THUS EXCLUDING BRITISH BASES.

D. NPT. THE SOVIETS WERE OF COURSE UNABLE TO GAIN FRENCH AGREEMENT TO ANY REFERENCE APPROVING THE NPT AS SUCH, BUT IT DOES SEEM TO US THAT THE DECLARATION'S LANGUAGE ON THE SUBJECT OF NON-PROLIFERATION IS UNUSUALLY FORTHOMING FROM THE FRENCH POINT OF VIEW. WE WILL BE TALKING TO OUR FRENCH COLLEAGUES HERE IN AN ATTEMPT TO GAIN FURTHER BACKGROUND ON THIS AND/OR OTHER ASPECTS OF THE VISIT.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 14978 182120Z

4. THE GISCARD AND PODGORNYY SPEECHES AT THE LUNCH OCTOBER 17, AS CARRIED IN PRAVDA, EACH CONTAIN ONE POINT OF INTEREST. GISCARD AGAIN EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF BASKET III, NOTING THAT "WITH THE CHANGE IN SCOPE COMES A CHANGE IN THE CHARACTER OF SOVIET-FRENCH COOPERATION. IT OBLIGATES US TO TREAT WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECT, EASE BY MUTUAL EFFORT THE WORKING CONDITIONS OF OUR BUSINESS PEOPLE AND OUR SCIENTISTS, ENCOURAGE THE STUDY OF RUSSIAN IN FRANCE AND THE STUDY OF FRENCH IN THE SOVIET UNION, DEVELOPE CONTACTS BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES, INTELLECTUALS, AND TOURISTS".

5. PODGORNYY IN HIS REPLY DID NOT MAKE ANY REFERENCE TO A CONTINUING IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE, UNLIKE BREZHNEV TWO DAYS EARLIER. HE DID, HOWEVER, AGAIN NEEDLE THE FRENCH (AND NATO AS WELL) ON MBFR: "FURTHER MOVEMENT TOWARD ENSURING RELIABLE

SECURITY (IN EUROPE) REQUIRES NEW INITIATIVES BENEFITTING  
DETENTE, INCLUDING THOSE AIMED AT REDUCING THE MILITARY  
CONFRONTATION".  
STOESSEL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** CHIEF OF STATE VISITS, COMMUNIQUE, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 18 OCT 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ellisoob  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975MOSCOW14978  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750362-1085  
**From:** MOSCOW  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19751041/aaaabkqx.tel  
**Line Count:** 173  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ellisoob  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 11 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <11 APR 2003 by SmithRJ>; APPROVED <30 SEP 2003 by ellisoob>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SOVIET - FRENCH DECLARATION: AN INITIAL ANALYSIS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, OVIP, FR, UR, (GISCARD D'ESTAING, VALERY)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006